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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0615

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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SUBJ: HUA KUO-FENG'S POLITICAL WORK REPORT: FOREIGN POLICY ASPECTS

REF: PEKING 0611

1. SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG'S GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT BREAKS NO NEW GROUND, IT PROVIDES A FIARLY COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT THE PRC'S APPROACH TO CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. HUA REFERS IN STANDARD TERMS TO PRC CONDITIONS FOR SINO-U.S. NORMALIZATION WHILE NOTING COMMON VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS AND EXPRESSING PEKING'S WILLINGNESS TO INCREASE CONTACTS
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BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. HE REFERS TO MILITARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DECLARING THAT "WE PLACE OUR HOPPS ON THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN." IN DISCUSSING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, HE SOUNDS A LESS BELLIGERENT NOTE THAN THAT STRUCK IN HIS PARTY CONGRESS SPEECH LAST SUMMER, BUT DEMANDS A PULLBACK OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM THE BORDER AND OUT OF MONGOLIA COUPLED WITH THE SIGNATURE OF AN AGREEMENT FOR

TROOP DISENGAGEMENT IN DISPUTED BORDER AREAS.

2. IN OTHER REMARKS, HUA REITERATES CHINESE INTEREST IN FAIR TREATMENT OF OVERSEAS CHINESE; DELIVERS AN IMPLICIT WARNING TO VIETNAM TO TREAT ITS NEIGHBORS AS EQUALS; AND CALLS FOR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. HE ALSO REPEATS STANDARD CHINESE RHETORIC ON THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR, WARNS AGAINST APPEASEMENT TENDENCIES IN THE WEST, AND EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR A BROAD INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT, INCLUDING EUROPEAN AS WELL AS THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, IN ORDER TO OPPOSE SOVIET HEGEMONISM. END SUMMARY.

3. THE SECTION DEVOTED TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN HUA KUO-FENG'S FEBRUARY 26 GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT IS THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF PEKING'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE HIS SPEECH TO THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS LAST AUGUST. HUA REPEATS THE STANDARD LITANY ON THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR AND ONCE AGAIN CITES THE SOVIET UNION AS "THE MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF A NEW WORLD WAR." NEVERTHELESS, "THE OUTBREAK OF WAR CAN BE PUT OFF" IF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD CLOSE RANKS AGAINST THE SUPER POWERS.

4. THE REPORT PLACES CONSIDERABLE STRESS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE SUPERPOWERS. THIS INCLUDES THE COUNTRIES OF THE SECOND WORLD (MAINLY EUROPE AND JAPAN), WHO SHOULD DEVELOP CLOSER CONTACTS WITH THE THIRD
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WORLD COUNTRIES " ON THE BASIS OF THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." WHILE REFERENCE IS USUALLY TO THE "SUPERPOWERS" IN THE PLURAL, THE TARGET IS CLEARLY THE SOVIET UNION. RECENT ACTIONS OF EGYPT, SUDAN, SOMALIA AND ZAIRE IN EXPELLING SOVIET ADVISERS AND REPELLING SOVIET-SUPPORTED ATTACKS ARE CITED IN PARALLEL WITH THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS IN INDOCHINA AS "VICTORIES" OVER THE SUPERPOWERS.

5. HUA'S REPORT MAKES NO REFERENCE TO DETENTE. IT DOES, HOWEVER, ATTACK "SOME PEOPLE IN THE WEST (WHO) FOLLOW A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE FOND HOPE OF SAVING THEMSELVES AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS." UNLIKE A SIMILAR PASSAGE IN HIS AUGUST REPORT, HOWEVER, HUA THIS TIME DOES NOT REFER TO AN ATTEMPT TO DIVERT THE SOVIET THREAT "TO THE EAST."

6. US-TAIWAN. IN THE PASSAGE ON SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, HUA REPEATS, AS HE DID LAST AUGUST, THAT THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR BROOKING NO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND SPECIFIES ONCE AGAIN THE THREE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE PROVIDED THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES ARE "SERIOUSLY" CARRIED OUT. IN A DEPARTURE FROM THE AUGUST REPORT, HUA

NOTES THAT "AT PRESENT, THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TOWARD THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN IS THE OBSTACLE TO THE NORMALIZATION OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONS." NEVERTHELESS, THE REPORT NOTES THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES "HAVE QUITE A FEW POINTS IN COMMON ON SOME ISSUES IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION", AND STATES CHINA'S WILLINGNESS "TO INCREASE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP".

7. IN A SEPARATE SECTION ON THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN, HUA REPEATS THE FORMULA LAST USED BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER LIAO CHEH-CHIH IN 1976 THAT "WE PLACE OUR HOPES ON THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN." (THIS FORMULA WAS MISSING FROM LIAO'S FEBRUARY 28 SPEECH THIS YEAR -- SEE PEKING 536). HUA ALSO
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RESTATES THE PRC'S "CONSISTENT POLICY" THAT EVEN KUOMINTANG MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS WILL BE WELCOMED IF THEY TURN THEIR BACKS ON THE "CHIANG CLIQUE.". AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE REPORT STATES THAT "THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY MUST MAKE ALL PREPARATIONS NECESSARY FOR THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN." THE REPORT THUS APPEARS TO OUTLINE A DUAL TRACK POLICY ON TAIWANESE LIBERATION; I.E., THE MAIN EFFORT MUST COME FROM THE TAIWANESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES, BUT THE PLA MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE PREPARED TO DO ITS PART.

8. SOVIET UNION. IN SPEAKING OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, HUA ESCHEWS THE BITTER INVECTIVE HE USED IN HIS REPORT LAST AUGUST TO THE PARTY CONGRESS. HE REFERS TO THE PREVIOUS FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, AND REPEATS THE STANDARD PRC POSITION THAT DEBATES OVER PRINCIPLES SHOULD NOT IMPEDE NORMAL STATE RELATIONS. HE NEVERTHELESS LAYS THE ENTIRE BLAME FOR THE PRESENT POOR STATE OF RELATIONS ON SOVIET LEADERS' "BETRAYAL OF THE MARXISM-LENINISM" AND THEIR "SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST POLICY.". HE STATES THAT IF THE SOVIETS REALLY WISH AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS, THEY SHOULD FIRST "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE PREMIERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES IN 1969 SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO ON THE BORDERS, AVERTING ARMED CLASHES AND DIS-ENGAGING THE ARMED FORCES OF BOTH SIDES IN THE DISPUTED BORDER AREAS, AND THEN ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON RESOLVING THE BOUNDARY QUESTION". HE FURTHER DEMANDS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WITHDRAW ITS ARMED FORCES FROM MONGOLIA AND THE SINO-SOVIET BORDERS, "SO THAT THE SITUATION THERE WILL REVERT TO WHAT IT WAS IN THE EARLY 1960' ."

9. OVERSEAS CHINESE. THE REPORT REITERATES STATEMENTS MADE LAST JANUARY BY LIAO CHENG-CHIH (PEKING 310) ENCOURAGING OVERSEAS CHINESE TO TAKE THE CITIZENSHIP OF THEIR ADOPTED COUNTRY BUT
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OPPOSING "ANY ATTEMPT TO COMPEL THEM TO CHANGE THEIR CITIZENSHIP."
AS FOR THOSE WHO RETAIN THEIR CHINESE CITIZENSHIP, THEY
SHOULD ABIDE BY LOCAL LAW AND CUSTOMS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
SERVING
AS A "BRIDGE" TO FOSTER FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND THEIR COUNTRY
OF RESIDENCE. IN WHAT COULD BE READ AS A VEILED THREAT, HUA
STATES THAT "WHILE IT IS THE DUTY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO
PROTECT THEIR (I.E., CHINESE NATIONALS') LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND
INTERESTS, IT IS HOPED THAT SAFEGUARDS TO THIS EFFECT WILL BE
PROVIDED BY THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED."

10. INDOCHINA. THE REPORT CONTAINS TWO PASSAGES WHICH APPEAR TO
BE DIRECTED AT VIETNAM. HUA STATES THAT "NO COUNTRY SHOULD
SEEK HEGEMONY IN ANY REGION OR IMPOSE ITS WILL ON OTHERS.
WHETHER A COUNTRY TREATS OTHERS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING" IS A
TEST OF WHETHER IT IS A GENUINE OR SHAM SOCIALIST COUNTRY. HUA
REITERATES THE SAME POINT FURTHER ON WHEN HE STATES THAT "THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SHOULD LIKEWISE ADHERE STRICTLY TO THE FIVE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH ONE
ANOTHER. SHOULD DIFFERENCES ARISE, THEY SHOULD SEEK A
SOLUTION THROUGH FRIENDLY CONSULTATION." THIS CLOSELY
PARALLELS REMARKS MADE BY TENG YING-CHAO JANUARY 18 DURING HER VISIT
TO PHNOM PENH, WHICH AT THAT TIME WERE CLEARLY MEANT AS CRITICISM
OF VIETNAM'S RELATIONS WITH CAMBODIA.

11. OTHER COUNTRIES. HUA'S REPORT ALSO CONTAINS A BRIEF TOUR
D'HORIZON OF CHINESE POLICY TOWARDS VARIOUS PARTS OF THE
WORLD. SOME OF THE HIGHLIGHTS:
--REITERATION OF SUPPORT FOR "THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S JUST STRUGGLE
FOR THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THEIR FATHERLAND."
THERE IS NO MENTION OF U.S. WITHDRAWAL ON THIS OCCASION.

--SUPPORT FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND
THE NEUTRALIZATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. THERE IS NO DIRECT REFERENCE
TO ASEAN. CHINA WISHES TO RESTORE OR ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ALL
COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

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--REFERENCE TO THE "GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS" CHINA MAINTAINS
WITH ALL INDIA'S NEIGHBORS, WHILE POINTING OUT THAT "THERE ARE
QUESTIONS PENDING BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA." NEVERTHELESS, HUA
REFERS TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES AND CALLS FOR
"SERIOUS EFFORTS" ON BOTH SIDES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS.

--A CALL FOR ARAB UNITY AND OPPOSITION TO SUPERPOWER INVOLVEMENT

IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HUA'S REPORT IS SILENT ON THE QUESTION OF
DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

--SUPPORT FOR THE THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND,
INEVITABLY, A CALL FOR AFRICAN UNITY AND EXCLUSION OF OUTSIDE
INTERFERENCE.

--A CALL FOR EARLY CONCLUSION OF A SINO-JAPANESE TREATY
OF PEACEFUL FRIENDSHIP WHICH IS IN THE "FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST"
OF THE TWO PEOPLES.. WOODCOCK UNQUOTE VANCE

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